

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----291907Z 031611 /50
O 291851Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6948

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 05585

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DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS MOSCOW FOR SECRETARY VANCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MNUC, GW
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL NUCLEAR POLICY STATEMENT

REF: (A) STATE 067973; (B) BONN 5498

BEGIN SUMMARY: AFTER CAREFULLY REVIEWING TALKING POINTS
OUTLINING SUBSTANCE OF FORTHCOMING PRESIDENTIAL STATE-
MENT ON NUCLEAR POLICY AND MAKING SEVERAL COMMENTS AND
INQUIRIES REGARDING SPECIFIC POINTS, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT
SAID OUTLINE WOULD BE STUDIED IMMEDIATELY AND COMMENTS

WOULD BE GIVEN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, IN FIRST INSTANCE
ORALLY TO SECRETARY VANCE WHEN HE VISITS BONN MARCH 31.
HOWEVER, SCHMIDT UNDERLINED IN SERIOUS TONE THAT HE FELT
TIME LIMIT OF APRIL 1 FOR COMMENTS ON SUBJECT OF SUCH
MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE TO HIS COUNTRY AND TO WORLD AS A
WHOLE WAS QUITE INADEQUATE. SOMEWHAT BITTERLY, HE QUES-
TIONED WHETHER THIS PROCEDURE REFLECTED THE NATURE OF
GENUINE CONSULTATIONS WHICH SHOULD TAKE PLACE BETWEEN
ALLIES. END SUMMARY.

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1. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT RECEIVED ME MARCH 29 FOR WHAT
DEVELOPED INTO ONE AND ONE-HALF CONVERSATION. SUBJECT
MATTERS CONCERNED FORTHCOMING PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON
NUCLEAR POLICY, FRG-BRAZIL NUCLEAR DEAL, FINANCIAL AID
TO PORTUGAL AND SOFO. (LATTER THREE SUBJECTS WILL BE
REPORTED SEPTELS). CHANCELLOR WAS ACCOMPANIED BY CHAN-
CELLERY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LOECK; I WAS ALONE.

2. AFTER LISTENING TO MY PRESENTATION REGARDING PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON NUCLEAR POLICY AND CAREFULLY READ-

ING NON-PAPER WHICH I LEFT WITH HIM CONTAINING TALKING POINTS, CHANCELLOR COMMENTED THAT, AT FIRST GLANCE, HE FELT US POSITION AS OUTLINED WAS "NOT FREE FROM IN-BUILT INTELLECTUAL CONFLICT." IN THIS CONNECTION, HE NOTED POINT (F) IN TALKING POINTS WHERE IT IS SAID THAT US IS COMMITTED TO ENCOURAGING WIDEST POSSIBLE ADHERENCE TO THE NPT. HE HAD NO QUARREL WITH THIS THOUGHT AND INDEED SUPPORTED IT STRONGLY; HOWEVER, CHANCELLOR FELT IT WOULD BE MORE ACCURATE IF REFERENCE HAD BEEN MADE TO AN "AMENDED NPT," SINCE IT SEEMED CLEAR THAT US WAS NOT SATISFIED WITH NPT AS IT PRESENTLY EXISTS. INDEED, IF NPT WERE TO BE RE-NEGOTIATED, ONE COULD THINK OF A NUMBER OF CHANGES WHICH SHOULD BE MADE IN IT BASED ON EXPERIENCE OF LAST TEN YEARS. CHANCELLOR RECALLED HIS CONVERSATION IN BONN WITH VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE IN WHICH HE HAD STRESSED THAT FRG WILL ADHERE TO NPT AND TO ANY OTHER TREATY TO WHICH IT IS A PARTY; MOREOVER, FRG WILL BE READY TO NEGOTIATE ADDITIONAL AGREEMENTS IN FIELD OF NON-PROLIFERATION WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO INCREASED CONTROLS.

3. IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER, CHANCELLOR SAW A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN US CALLING FOR WIDER ADHERENCE TO NPT AND OUR STAND WITH REGARD TO PROVISION OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY TO OTHER STATES, AS REFLECTED IN OUR ATTITUDE
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TOWARD FRG-BRAZIL AGREEMENT. HERE, HE REFERRED TO ARTICLE IV OF NPT PROVIDING FOR NON-DISCRIMINATION. I REMARKED THAT WE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT ARTICLE IV CONSTITUTED AN OBLIGATION FOR A STATE TO TRANSFER SENSITIVE NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY TO A STATE NOT POSSESSING IT. CHANCELLOR REJOINED THAT THIS COULD BE OUR INTERPRETATION AND COULD BE VALID FOR US, BUT HE DID NOT SEE THAT, ON OTHER HAND, ARTICLE IV CONSTITUTED AN OBLIGATION ON THE FRG TO REFRAIN FROM TRANSFERRING SUCH TECHNOLOGY.

4. CHANCELLOR INQUIRED AS TO MEANING OF PHRASE "INDEFINITELY DEFER" (PARA B.1 OF TALKING POINTS) IN REFERENCE TO COMMERCIAL REPROCESSING OF PLUTONIUM. HE WONDERED IF THIS MEANT THAT A FIRM DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN TO CANCEL ALL PLANS FOR COMMERCIAL REPROCESSING; I SAID I DID NOT

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ACTION NODS-00

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-----291907Z 031653 /42
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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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BELIEVE THIS WAS THE CASE AND THAT THE PHRASE SHOULD BE TAKEN AS IT STANDS, I.E., THAT FURTHER WORK ON COMMERCIAL REPROCESSING INSTALLATIONS WOULD BE DEFERRED FOR THE INDEFINITE FUTURE. CHANCELLOR INQUIRED IF US HAD MILITARY REPROCESSING PLANTS IN OPERATION AND I RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY.

5. CHANCELLOR NOTED WORDING IN PARA F OF TALKING POINTS REGARDING SANCTIONS AGAINST THE VIOLATION OF NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS WITH THE US AND INQUIRED WHETHER AT THE PRESENT TIME THE US CONSIDERED THAT ANY STATES WITH NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS WITH THE US ARE IN VIOLATION OF THOSE AGREEMENTS. I REPLIED THAT I DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS WAS THE CASE AND THAT THE WORDING WAS INTENDED TO APPLY TO POSSIBLE FUTURE EVENTS.

6. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE CHANCELLOR REFERRED TO "RELUCTANCE" OF US TO DELIVER HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM TO EURATOM AND INQUIRED WHETHER THIS SHOULD BE TAKEN AS A DELIBERATE SIGNAL AND A FORESHADOWING OF THE TYPE OF

SANCTIONS WHICH THE US WOULD TAKE AGAINST OTHER STATES WHICH MIGHT NOT AGREE WITH US VIEWS ON NUCLEAR POLICY. I SAID THIS WAS NOT THE CASE AND THAT THE DELAY IN AP-

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PROVAL OF SHIPMENTS OF HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM HAS BEEN CAUSED BY BUREAUCRATIC REQUIREMENTS. (IN THIS CONNECTION, SEE REFTTEL (B).)

7. CHANCELLOR FOCUSSED ON DATE OF APRIL 1 (PARA G OF TALKING POINTS) BY WHICH US WOULD WISH TO RECEIVE COMMENTS AND NOTED THAT THIS WAS EXTREMELY SHORT TIMEFRAME IN WHICH TO COMMENT MEANINGFULLY ON MATTER OF SUCH IMPORTANCE TO FRG AND TO WORLD AS A WHOLE. HE SAID THAT, OBVIOUSLY, FRG WOULD WISH TO GIVE MOST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO STATEMENT OF SUCH "GLOBAL STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE" BUT THAT IT WAS CLEARLY IMPOSSIBLE TO PROVIDE CONSIDERED VIEWS BY APRIL 1. AT THIS POINT, CHANCELLOR QUERIED WHETHER PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA OF JAPAN HAD BEEN INFORMED OF FORTHCOMING PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON A MATTER OF SUCH IMPORTANCE TO JAPAN DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. I SAID I DID NOT KNOW BUT THAT JAPANESE GOVERN-

MENT, TOGETHER WITH SMALL NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS, WAS BEING INFORMED AT PRESENT TIME OF PROPOSED STATEMENT.

8. CHANCELLOR NOTED SECRETARY VANCE WOULD BE VISITING BONN MARCH 31 AND THAT PRELIMINARY FRG VIEWS COULD BE CONVEYED TO HIM ORALLY AT THAT TIME. HOWEVER, AND HERE CHANCELLOR SPOKE IN EMPHATIC AND SERIOUS TONES, HE WISHED TO EMPHASIZE HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT, IF INDEED PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT IS TO BE ISSUED AS SOON AS APRIL 3 OR 4, HE WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND, SINCE HE DID NOT FEEL THAT PROVISION OF SUCH A LIMITED TIME FOR CONSIDERATION OF A QUESTION OF THIS MAGNITUDE WAS REALLY COMPATIBLE WITH THE TYPE OF CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES WHICH SHOULD OBTAIN BETWEEN CLOSE ALLIES.

9. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LOECK, WHO ESCORTED ME OUT OF CHANCELLERY AFTER CONVERSATION WITH SCHMIDT, NOTED IMPLICATIONS OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT FOR FRG'S PROGRAM
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TO DEVELOP REPROCESSING CAPABILITY. HE SAID FRG FEELS LATTER IS ESSENTIAL TO ACCOMPLISHMENT OF FRG'S NUCLEAR

ENERGY PROGRAM; IN LIGHT OF THIS, LOECK SAID, HE ANTICIPATED THAT PRESIDENT'S PROPOSED STATEMENT WOULD BE SEEN AS HAVING EXTREMELY SERIOUS IMPACT ON FRG'S SITUATION.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESIDENT, POLICIES, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, MEETING REPORTS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 29-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BONN05585
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840084-2207, N770002-0274
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770313/aaaaakqk.tel
Line Count: 219
Litigation Code IDs:
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Message ID: 664fa1b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 STATE 67973, 77 BONN 5496, 77 BONN 5498
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2969875
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESIDENTIAL NUCLEAR POLICY STATEMENT
TAGS: PFOR, MNUC, TECH, GE, US, (SCHMIDT, HELMUT)
To: STATE SS MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/664fa1b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009